Jack Maloney
Interviews
Oct, 1988
Seattle
Tape #1

Riehle ... and I'm talking to Jack Maloney in Seattle, and we're talking about the role of the Communist party, if any, in the 1934 teamster's strikes and in particular some of the contentions of Carl Ross, which were expressed in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* on May 1, 1988, about the truck drivers strike and the relation of the Communist party to it.

Malone In the articles that were printed in the *Pioneer Press,* of various dates, one attributed to Carl Ross and the other I assume to Gus ~~Alt~~ Hall. I'll deal with the remark that struck me as being the most unbelievable, wherein Ross says that--I don't have it in front of me to quote, but the reference was made that it was a run-of-the-mill, routine strike, the leaders didn't know what it was all about, it appeared, and they didn't understand it.

Well, to explain that, I have to go back to the time that I first met Carl Skoglund. And I fix that time to be the winter of '29-'30, or 1930 itself.

Riehle Did you meet him at the union hall? Is that where you encountered him?

Maloney Yes, Carl was around the Gunwood (?) (GLENWOOD *) driver's hall and as I remember correctly the union had recently moved in. And I say "recent," I can't fix the time but I'd say within a year, had moved

* Glenwood Ave — Mpls.

there from 4th Avenue South. And that was the headquarters then of the central labor union or at least the joint council headquarters. I believe it was the central labor union. And Carl at that time was seeking membership in Local 574. And I got talking with Carl and I didn't have one conversation with Carl, I had several. And across the street from the labor temple there was a pool hall that was dry then. At the pool hall they had a little old counter there, bar, where you could get coffee and hot dogs. And they served near beer and you could spike them up if you had the means of doing it or if nobody was around they'd spike it for you.

Carl would explain his theories about what was ahead for the trucking industry.

Now Carl, I never asked him, and at that time he did not volunteer, and there was no idea of being sneaky about it, the issue never come to the fore. But knowing Carl, if I would have asked him, he would have told me, the issue never raised itself.

Riehle About his radical

Maloney About his background. I found out about it a little bit later. It didn't bother my relations with Carl. As a matter of fact, it enlivened my interest. Carl was explaining to me that he and a couple of his friends who were coal workers were trying to get a

contract to cover their employment and they were having difficulty. And I'm not going to get into that phase of it now, because that's a separate article and it's secondary to the real thing that Carl was talking about. Carl was telling me what his idea and his friend, who I will mention and turned out to be Ray ~~Dunn~~ DUNNE, and he wasn't being sneaky about it, they had been discussing what was in store for the truck drivers and for the teamster's union.

VINCENT RAYMOND DUNNE

And Carl was very, very well informed, it seemed to me, about the direction of the industry. Not just the drivers and the workers in it, but the industry itself. And he went on to point out to me that shortly, in a short while, the team ~~drak (ph)~~ track* as we knew it then, which generally concerned the loading and the unloading of carload lots of freight, would soon be a thing of the past. And the freight house, which generally could handle the LCL, less than carload lots, sometimes carload as well, would also be greatly diminished and might very well be hard to find, certainly it is present capacity. He pointed out to me that there was big improvements had been made in highway traffic in the major cities in the east. That highway development would grow at a great pace, and that soon motor trucks would be replacing rails, particularly in 300-400-500-600-mile trips. He pointed out that it would take 8-10 days for a rail

* railroad "team track" for loading/unloading from railroad boxcar to wagon (originally pulled by team of horses)

shipment from the time it was ordered to arrive. The amount of money that was tied up, whether it was the shipper's money that was tied up or the guy that was buying it, and he had to buy it at the factory, and the inventory that he'd have to get in order to get the freight rate that would allow him to compete, and that all of these factors, he said, would soon start to change. And he said in order for the teamster's union they will have to change along with it. And they will have to adapt.

And then he pointed out that the entire structure of the teamster's union, and anyone that is familiar with the teamster's union, who is a student of it or knows anything about it, knows that the joint councils in the various metropolitan areas absolutely more or less ruled the teamster's union. And that's the first time that anyone I heard the expression used, "the baronial empire."

And Carl compared the secretaries of the joint councils and/or in some instances the presidents of the joint council as barons. He said, "Their word is the law." And in each locality, each guy can cut deals, he can make deals with an employer, he can cut certain deals with one against the other and work out different schemes. And he pointed out to me, and he said, "Brother ~~Yak~~ YACK* (?), in all of these things," he said, "it's the worker that pays."

i.e. "JACK" WITH SWEDISH ACCENT

Riehle Who would be the baron in the Twin Cities area?

Maloney Who?

Riehle Who would be the baron of the teamster's union?

Maloney Well, at that time, because of the general apathy, the lack of organization, at that time, and (inaudible) call him the baron, was the vice president of the teamster's union was John ~~Gary~~ GEARY. And he did not compare with the Dave Beck's on the west coast or the Casey's or the O'Rourke's or the Goudy's in Chicago, or people like that. Minneapolis and St. Paul were hardly the aggressive, well organized teamster domains at that time, as were some of the other cities that I mentioned.

And all of those cities were not organized on a basis that I would like to have seen them organized. They were organized not on a confrontational basis but on a kind of a well a good day's work for a fair day's pay. And it was a kind of a we help you and you help us difference. And now and then they'd strike out at some person. There was no need in the Minneapolis area for the employers to court or flirt with the teamster's union, they didn't have to. They've only dealt with unions when they felt it was necessary or they could get something from it. But the open shop attitude, since they broke the strike in 1917, and every strike since then almost, with the

exception of a couple of milk wagon driver strikes, and they were not general strikes, they were against one or two individual dairies, employers had their own way in Minneapolis. But in other cities, they had a little different atmosphere.

But that was the first expression that I ever heard and began to identify.

Now, Carl pointed out to me at that time the problems that the union would have to face, what we'd have to do. The men would have to be organized to bring this about and there would have to be minimum rates of pay. There would have to be maximum hours of work. There would have to be certain standards of employment that were universal. Now he said we're not only going to have opposition from the employer, we're going to have opposition from (inaudible) because he said this will bring into play a division which the teamster's union was largely then a cash wagon union. Drivers working on commission. Bakery salesmen, laundry and dry cleaning, tea and coffee, pretty near anything you could think of where the driver went out in the morning with a necktie on, in most cases, worked on a little bit of draw, and his salary depended on how much he could hustle or sell during the day. It was an individual achievement job every day he went to work. And if he

didn't cut the mustard, there were two factors that pushed him along. If the employer felt that he wasn't bringing in enough business in the area where he was working, they'd just call him in and say, "Pete, you're doing good but not good enough and we can't afford to keep you." Or he'd have to go down the road, because what he was making he couldn't keep himself.

Well, Tobin was smart enough to know that when he had a bunch of fellows that were eager beavers and among all the things you want to say about Tobin, whether you liked him or not, he was a canny old bastard. And he had a pretty good grip on a lot of things and he knew that you couldn't forever kid a bunch of people. And he was probably not ebulliently happy, but he was content. The rank of the teamster's union, I believe at that time, in the AF of L in size was number 19 in membership and in Robert ~~Leader's~~ Leiter's book, *The Teamster*, which was published in about I think the late '50s, very late '50s, and ~~Leader~~ Leiter is a scholar and journalist of some standing. I think he's a professor at some college, he's done a very good academic job on that part of the history, and he attributes the teamster's union at that time to around 85,000 people. Somewhat less than a hundred thousand. And, of course, that provided Tobin with an income, it was comfortable. He was living in the style to

which he was accustomed. He had some prestige and he was accepted in labor circles and above all he had some rank in the Democratic apparatus in America, which next to the church was the height of his ambition. And he also, I believe, truthfully, at a later date, he may have changed his opinion, I'm sure he did, but he was fearful and he described the people as riff-raff. That's also in Leader's book, where he describes the people that were around the road trucks and the delivery trucks, the people that worked in other parts, he describes them as plain riff-raff, and they had no place in his union. And those are the people that make up the teamster's union today in a lot of cases. Because, at best, when the teamster's union was at its peak, less than one-third of the union was drivers. When they had a membership of 1,800,000, about 600,000 was drivers and the rest was other than drivers. Which all goes back to the theory that we have to make the teamster's union an industrial union. And I have to play my cards as I see them, as I've lived them, and I have to give Carl Skoglund the credit for thinking out, maybe not to bring in the auto mechanics and the flight attendants that are now parts of the union, but certainly they're not teamster's, they're not driving trucks and they're not driving teams. And Carl Skoglund said, "If we're going to industrialize the union, then we're

going to get into the transportation industry, and both sides of the ship will sail together." And he said, "Where anybody in the plant is going to work, that's all going to be under one contract. We're not going to split them up and have the driver in one and the helper in another and the barn man in another. They'll all be under one contract. We'll bargain together."

Carl told me the problems we were going to have with them. He said, "It won't be just the employer it will be Tobin as well." And he said, "We're going to have our hands full." And he went further, he explained to me that the area in which we operate, and at that time he picked out the Midwest section of the country, which is now defined as the central states area, although it's enlarged a little bit from what he was talking about, what's now considered by the teamster's to be their central ~~confluence~~ conference (?). And we enlarged it even in the three years that I was on the committee by the contiguous territory clauses that we attached in the contracts. He pointed out that we would have to deal, and he used the expression "on the ~~grand truck terra fuel~~ "grand trunk territrule" (?)" and he was more familiar with that than I was.

And Carl had been a railroad worker and that's where he apparently got his idea and logics on that, because among his confederates

were people who were still working on railroads. And many of his friends had worked there and ~~Carol~~ CARL was familiar with that industry. And for Ross to back off and say that nobody knew and put this thing as a kind of a lackadaisical thing, didn't know what they had a hold of, is one of the most colossal statements of misunderstanding that I have heard. Now Ross, at that time, reported to be a student of politics and labor. And if he didn't know it then, now some 60 years later he hasn't learned anything since is the way I look at it, because no person in his right mind could say that the issue of the Minneapolis strikes was some kind of piece of water that dropped on a hot griddle and it steamed up and bubbled around a little. The employers recognized it. The union recognized it. All one has to do is look at the newspaper ads and the idea of what was being said about it. And when we see the statements attributed to Tobin and to the employers about the union leaders and about their efforts, they damn well understood what the union was about and so did the employer.

Now the employer recognized that although the charter of the teamster's union at that time stated that teamsters, chauffeurs, stablemen, and helpers, he would have liked to have contracts covering the teamsters. Reluctantly would he agree to contracts

with the helpers. And in some instances the stablemen. Now he has to have stablemen because horses eat, they're property and he's going to maintain them. He didn't care about the men but he damn well cared about his property. And in all cases, the barn men, as they were called, weren't probably cared for very well. Now, when he found out and the employer knew that in our demands which we said that the driver, the helpers, platform workers, the inside workers or any other person who is engaged in the preparation of or the making up or the distribution of freight or cargo shall be included in this contract, they knew how extensive that our contracts were. And that's what we told them we were covering. And that's what brought about the third strike. And that's what brought about the duplicity of Olson. Olson knew it. Employers knew it. And Tobin knew it. And, unfortunately, Ross don't know it and he don't know it to this day, if he allows that statement to stand.

Third Strike

(Lloyd B Olson)

Now what are we going to get at?

Riehle Well, Carl Ross suggests that in that famous picture of the pickets charging that the big man in the lead carrying a club is Gus Hall or might very well be Gus Hall. Does that jibe with your memory?

Maloney You saw that cap (cat?) through the door?

Now, what was the question?

Riehle Carl Ross suggests in the article, headlined "Life of the party," as a feature in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* on July 10, 1988, that he talks quite a bit about Gus Hall and he suggests that this is Gus Hall leading the charge of the pickets in one of the battles in the market. Do you recall Gus Hall being in the area at the time, that he or any other Communist party members were active participants?

Maloney Carl Ross said this, did he? In the second article appearing in the St. Paul press, written by different writers, as I recall, some who purport, according to my reading of the article, have talked to Gus Hall, and others who have talked to Hy Berman and Carl Ross, the thing that strikes me here as most unusual is the relation of members of the Communist party being in leadership of the driver's union. Now, I want it clearly understood that I'm not red-baiting or (inaudible) the members of the Communist party, and I have no argument with people who want to be members of the Communist party or the Republican party or the Democratic party, but I would be equally displeased, to say the least, if members of the Republican or Democratic party should claim that they helped lead the '34 strike. What I remember of the Communist party in 1934

Riehle Let me just read this quote to you, so we know what we're talking about here. This is from that article on July 10th, and it says, "Hall helped organize strikes and demonstrations across the state during the Great Depression. The most famous was the violent teamster's strike that took place in Minneapolis during the spring and summer of 1934. A newspaper photo taken during the notorious midsummer market riot clearly shows Hall, bare headed and armed with a club, in a clash between demonstrators and a so-called citizen's army of strikebreakers. A street battle resulted and several deaths, hundreds of injuries, and a citywide declaration of martial law quote without question, that's Gus unquote, says Carl Ross, who knew Hall during his days on the Iron Range and in Minneapolis." That's the end of the quote there.

Maloney Can you play back what I said?

[interruption in tape]

Well, again, what I remember of the Communist party in 1934, there was one person that I know, according to his own statements, who professed to be a member of the Communist party. He was a Finn, his name was Laurie Kainen (ph) best I can remember. He was a nice person, a good worker, and a very loyal member of the Communist party. And regardless of what he knew or thought, he

would be under the discipline of the party and would bring motions on the floor and get defeated or ridiculed or whatever, and he would still continue doing whatever he was instructed.

The other person who may have been a member of the Communist party was a big young dark fellow who I'm sure was a Jewish lad. He worked for a small company called Hooperman Fruit. It was on 6th Street, close to ~~Beerman~~ BEARMAN Fruit. They had about 4 employees. Now, he never admitted to anyone that he was a member of the Communist party. His actions, however, his activity, never on the floor of the union meeting but outside the union distributing handbills, circularizing leaflets, and engaging in personal one-on-one conversations with people haranguing the leaders, questioning them, ridiculing them, would lead one to believe one to believe that he was a member of the CP.

Now, there's nothing wrong with being a member of the CP, because a guy's got a right to belong where he wants to belong. And at one time in particular he was distributing handbills in a very, very dramatic situation and we had to retrieve him. He would have got the hell beat out of him. He was putting out a handbill directed at the ~~Dunn~~ DUNNE brothers, the Trotskyite betrayers. This was in part

(WILLIAM F DUNNE)

inspired by Bill Dunn, who was a member of the Communist party quoting some things that Bill had said about his brothers.

Now that's as much as I know about the Communist party having members, let alone leaders, in 574.

Now in a union of that size at the time, it's quite likely that there could have been other members of the Communist party. None of them ever made themselves known publicly. They never exercised any activity or interest to indicate they were.

Prior to the strike, and some time prior to the strike, quite a while before, a year and a half or more earlier, there had been demonstrations in Minneapolis by the unemployed. Now, a couple of these demonstrations, as I can recall, were sponsored, in part at least, by the Communist party. And on one of the leaflets, I distinctly remember on most of them S.K. Davis was the spokesperson for the Communist party. On one of the leaflets, also appeared the name of Arnie Helberg. And Arnie Helberg was identified as a young person who was working on the staff of the Finnish paper. There was a Finnish paper put out up on Western and Humboldt Avenue. And he was either a writer or a translator for that paper.

Riehle Do you remember the name of that paper?

Maloney It was a Finnish name. Finnish national paper of some kind of name. I don't know the name. I don't think I could say the name if I knew it. But anyway, there was no person of the Communist party that had any leadership role. All that I can remember of the Communist party, and it's a sad thing to say instead of them supporting the strike and being at best being critical of some part of the activity, they condemned it. We were sell-outs because we didn't demand the impeachment of Governor Olson and these were ludicrous themes. Most of the guys understood that we were a great union. And that we were trying to establish some working conditions and rights with our employers in the form of a contract, which is altogether alien to political rights in electing people to office. And we as a small group, at best 3500 to 5000 in that section of the union, could not abrogate the rights of the rest of the citizens of Minnesota. They all voted Floyd Olson in. And whether or not anyone agreed that Floyd Olson deserved to go out, that would come with the plebiscite of the people of the state of Minnesota.

If you're going to resort to that kind of rule, that a handful of people in a union can direct, then we get pretty close to what Hitler done with his brown troopers. We've got a handful of people that are

going to run the show. That's not the voice of the people. That was the role that the Communist party played, as far as them having any leadership, I don't know, and I'd been around that union for about 7 years before the strike began. And I knew practically everyone that was in the union by name prior to the strike.

When the coal section become organized, I did not know all the members of the coal section. As a matter of fact, I knew only a few. When we started to organize in May, again I knew a great share of the men in the transfer section. We had 166 companies involved. Some of them were other than transfer, but I knew those that drove. I'd met them and seen them, because we all shared the common freight houses, terminals, and the things like that. But when it came to the workers in the yards or the warehouses or the dock people, I probably did not know all of them. I don't think I did, I'd be foolish to say I did. I never knew Gus Hall. Now I knew about Arnie Hallberg and I never ~~know~~ knew that the Communist party had any part in any formation of any meeting of any organization or anything that pertained to the driver's union whatsoever in Minnesota.

Now in relation to that picture which Ross says that he identifies, as Arnie Hallberg, aka Gus Hall, I submit I was 22 years old at that

time, and Gus Hall, I believe, is a year or two younger than I am, and the picture that's in that person that's in that picture, I don't think is a picture of a 20-year-old lad. It looks to me like a much more mature person. And I can't be positive, but the person that I think it is is a fellow that work for Kay Aslesen Wholesale Grocery. Now, he was some kind of square head. He was Swede/Norwegian/Dane and I'm sure he for Kay Aslesen.

Now there was another fellow that was similar that drove for Killdahl Fish. Killdahl Fish was on 9th and Washington. And Kay Aslesen was up on about 5th or 6th and Washington. But they were both down in the same part.

The other part of the story is that throughout the entire strikes, three of them, in Minneapolis, the leadership of the union said, "We are peaceful pickets. We are not going out, we are not going out to go out with weapons because we cannot fight an organized police force, an organized National Guard, or an organized army with weapons. We don't have them. Besides that, we're not engaged in martial combat. We have an economic battle with our employers and we can't win a martial combat with the forces that we have and we don't want to get into that. We want to win an economic battle for our rights with our bosses."

Now, on Saturday, the union

Riehle Saturday, May

Maloney Saturday, following May 16th, whatever date that would be, C. Thomas Stores is reported to have made a deal with Beerman Fruit. C. Thomas is a shortened name for a Greek person whose real name was Constantine Thomas, who was one of the forerunners of the chain stores in Minneapolis. Supermarkets. He had three or four markets in Minneapolis and maybe one or two in St. Paul. And he was selling pre-packaged and a lot of it was help yourself, bring it to the counter and the cashier will ring it up.

And he had made a deal, according to the stories we get, that we had heard that he had made a deal to clear the perishable fruits off of Beerman's floor that were standing since Tuesday. So he backed in one semi and two straight trucks to the Beerman house. Now Beerman had their own fleet of trucks and could have delivered that. But they were cagey people and they told Thomas that, "if you want the fruit and you want it at this price, you haul it." So he come down with his three drivers, under police protection and we got word to go down to the market that they were trying to move trucks. So that was the first organized attempt to move trucks in the May strike.

So when I got there with my squad, and I can only speak for myself, the trucks were already backed into the loading dock. Now Beerman had no low lines, so everything had to be lifted up. The trucks hadn't loaded anything and the people were milling around. Now this was a Saturday morning and by now it was 9:30 or 10 o'clock, and the people were coming downtown, those that had Saturday off, and everyone knows where 6th and 1st Avenue is, the center of town was 7th and Hennepin, and all this noise and commotion going on. We were not responsible, that problem was not all pickets.

Riehle Spectators?

Maloney They were spectators more than there were pickets. We couldn't have assembled that crowd that quick. So when we got up to where the police were, we got into the front of it and we worked our way up there, and I was

[End Side A, Begin Side B]

Maloney ... (inaudible) getting bigger, of course, and I got into an argument or a discussion with Sgt. Frank Bleed. I knew him. I didn't have a relationship with him, I knew who he was. He probably didn't know me, but I knew he was Sgt. Frank Bleed. And I was putting up at that time what I thought was a good argument that I was a

taxpayer and I was paying money for him to protect property and not to take my job away and not to protect scabs and the like of that. Well, we were all bare-handed. Nobody had anything. And the crowd kept pushing. Well, I wasn't big enough to push back and I wasn't intending to and we kept pushing and there was a lot of guys from my squad who was with me there, Louie Sculler, Harold Beal, no,--well, Harry Beal and a few more, and I don't know who give the signal to the police, but suddenly they started in. Now I don't remember Bleed using a nightstick on me but somebody hit me one hell of a crack and I was arguing with Bleed and I don't know where it come from. And the next thing I remembered I was in Beerman Fruit Company house and Louie Sculler, Harold Beal, Boom Boom, he worked at Cameron's, Beal didn't, he worked someplace else. Louie worked at Cameron's. Three or four other guys were laying there too. And I kind of half drowsy, I woke up a little bit and I heard the bulls coming and they said, "Here's the wagon now." So they picked up 4-5 and they had some guys outside and they put them in the wagon. They come over and looked at me and the guy gave me a kind of a kick with his foot and he said, "This guy's still out and we ain't got no room. Wait for the next one." So in a couple 3-4 minutes, another wagon come and the cops come to me and I

Jack knock-out

had a little bit more--I was a little bit more coherent but not completely and they picked me up and I come out and I was bleeding pretty heavy, my head was all busted open, and there was a cop ~~copy~~ on each side of me and they took me out. The trucks were still there between the two trucks, and they got me up to the end of the paddy wagon and there was a step there. And they told me to get in. Well, I made my mind up I wasn't going in and I don't think if I was able to go and I wanted to go I could have made it, and I fell down. And the crowd just surged in there and picked me up and carried me away from there. And the cops didn't do anything about it, the two that carried me out. They got the hell out.

Riehle So the crowd

Maloney The crowd was sympathetic. There were a lot of pickets around that place. And they carried me up to that cigar store on 6th and Hennepin

Riehle Shinders?

Maloney I forget now the name, was that it?

Riehle A newsstand?

Maloney Yes, a newsstand and a cigar store. And there they called the cops--I mean the ambulance. They had them old Pierce Arrow right-hand drive ambulances yet. The driver sat out in front.

Riehle Where were these wagons taking the injured?

Maloney What?

Riehle Where were these injured men going that the police had?

Maloney They took some of them to the hospital and some right to jail. So they take me down to the general hospital. Well, I get down there and I'm awful groggy when I got out and they take me in and they shave my head, they patch me up and put a big turban on me and brought me out and set me down and told me to stay there. Well, for a minute I was still groggy and then I started to realize where I was and that to do about it. And just about that time, here come a guy in a blue suit and he says, "What the hell are you doing here?" And it was the business agent for the steamfitter's union. And I said, "We had a beef down in the market." And there was a woman there but when they drugged me they said, "Hold this guy, they'll come and get him," I heard them say that. Well, Miller grabbed a hold of me and he told this woman, "I'll take this guy."

Riehle Do you remember his full name?

Maloney I think it was Jack Miller. I think so, I'm not sure. I think it was Miller. He was the business agent for the steamfitter's and plumber's union. He was down there on routine business. Had to be. And he got me over to the door of the general hospital and he

says, "Get the hell out of here quick." And I got across from there and I got over in the parking lot. Well in those days, you could crawl under cars. Cars had big wheels on them and I crawled --ran in 2-3 cars and I crawled under one and I lay there and got my wind and rested. And I stayed there for a few minutes and then I heard them hollering, "Where did the son-of-a-bitch go?" And I stayed there. And they run around looking for me. They didn't think to look under the cars and I kept crawling under the cars, and about 45 minutes, I guess, it took me to get to the other end of that parking lot. I'd wait and finally I didn't hear no more and I figured they give up on me. And I got out on the street and I bummed a ride. The guy seen me and he stopped and he said, "What happened to you? Were you in an automobile accident?" And I said, "No, I'm a member of the truck driver's union and we had a beef up in the market." "Oh, the hell you did!" He first asked me where I was going, I was just downtown. He said, "What happened to you? Were you in an automobile accident?" I says, "No. We had a beef in the truck driver's union." "Oh," he says, "I heard about that on the radio." He says, "Where do you want to go?" And he turned out to be a pretty good guy. He says, "I'll take you anywhere you want to go." And he said, "By God, you guys are all right," or

something like that. And I said, "Will you take me down to Carl and Einar's Saloon?" They were on 5th Street and 2nd Avenue. So I went down there. And I got in there and of course we used to drink in there all the time.

Riehle 5th Street and 2nd Avenue South?

Maloney North.

Riehle North?

Maloney So I got in there and the bartender says, "Jesus Christ, what happened to you?" And I says, "Can I use the phone?" He says, "Yeah." And I says, "I don't want to be out here." And he says, "Go in the backroom." And I went in the backroom and he shot a drink back. I told him I got beat up up at Beerman's and he shot me back a drink and I called headquarters and Ray Dunn or Farrell (FARRELL DOBBS) sent old C.B. Carlson and he had a Ford coupe and he come down and took me out to my mother's house. And I stayed there for the day. That was--then I come down to strike headquarters that night.

Now that was Saturday day. Now that night, they had the beef down at the Tribune alley. I don't know nothing about that. I was up at the strike headquarters that night.

Now, on Sunday, we had a meeting--we used to have meetings at night, and after the meeting was over we had a strike committee

(MILES DUNNE)

meeting, we called it. And Carl talked to us and Mickey Dunn or Bill Brown or both of them. And they said, "Now, look. We figure we're going to have it. These cops are playing for keeps. And the fight's just started and we're going to have to give up and quit or we're going to have to fight. And we're going to fight to win if we can. And those that don't want to fight better get out and those that want to fight stay." Nobody left. They said, "We can expect more of the same."

So all day Sunday they started bringing guys in, getting guys together, and we said, "We're going to have a big beef come Monday morning." Now, we had heard that Gamble Robb--they had a barn out on 6th Avenue North, somebody there had given us word that they were taking the glass out of the windshields and out of the doors of the trucks and putting in gravel screen, quarter inch gravel screen.

(GAMBLE-ROBINSON CO.)

Now, in those days, there weren't so many custom cabs as there are today, built by the companies. They used to buy the chassis and motor with the hood and then they'd go to Hoybee (ph) or some of those carriage outfits, and they'd build the cabs. So they were mostly custom built and they could take the glass out. Like today, they can just wind them down. But a lot of that stuff was fixed

glass. They were stopped in. They'd put the window in and then they would put blocks of wood around it and you couldn't ventilate them. You could open the door. If you wanted to make a left turn, they'd paint an arrow on the door and you'd swing the door out.

Riehle That must have been hotter than hell in the summer.

Maloney Well, they'd take the window out, take the door off. Take the door off. That was all right until it rained then you got wet, but it was better than being cooked. So, anyway, on that afternoon there was a group of us and we put--we figured out what we'd do in the morning. We put (inaudible) or gloves or pieces of chain up our sleeves, down our pants any way we could. And we went down, a bunch of us--I know the bunch I was with, my squad, we went down to Gamble Robb, that was on 3rd Avenue. And we got down there about 7 o'clock. And sure enough about 7:30, here they come, over the 5th Street bridge, 8 or 10 squad cars with these trucks behind them, and then 4 or 5 squad cars behind them. Some motorcycles. They wheeled them into the Gamble Robb dock, closed the gate. Now they had 2 groups of people, they had a whole bunch that they'd assembled Sunday and told them--now ~~Farrow~~ FARRELL describes it that they kept them there all day, they didn't. We had meetings and we had (inaudible) okay you come back here at 2 in the morning.

The guys would individually start coming in at 2-2:30, and by 4 o'clock in the morning the place was full. And they had a coffee pot up there and some toppings, they had some rolls and donuts. And then they had a whole bunch at 1800 Chicago. And we were down at the Gamble Robb house, that's where we went. We left 614 and we went down to Gamble Robb, that was our station. I don't know who assigned it but that's where we were to go, my squad was to go there. And we had about --no cars, we didn't have cars then, we had cars otherwise, but we knew --you know how the market is, how compact it is, you don't need cars there, you can get around faster by foot and what good would cars do you? So we parked our cars wherever we could and we got down there and we were at Gamble Robb about 6:30-7 o'clock.

Now the guys up at 614 were to wait. Now we had little clubs in our hands and the cops told us that there was a sergeant there, now he was a sergeant because of his stripes. I didn't know him. I knew he was a sergeant, I didn't know him by name. And he was in charge. And he said, "Who's the leader here?" "We ain't got no leaders." Nobody would have fallen for that trap. And so he said, "Now, look, they brought them trucks in and we escorted them here and we've had a talk with the company. And the company's not going to load

them and we give you our word. They give us our word. You guys just--they told us we don't want no trouble and they don't want no trouble and we know you guys don't want no trouble" and all this and that. And he said, "Now, that's just the way it is and you guys just can disperse here." And we said, "We ain't going to disperse." "Well, give us them sticks now, there's no need for all that." We passed over these little sticks and about the time they figured they had them, this cop says, "Now, we're going to teach you sons of bitches whose boss around here." And they come out with their nightsticks. But there was this spur that ran from the M & St.L freight house, it provided trackage to the houses on 5th Street, there were some houses in there, warehouses. And a bunch of us ran up in there, a whole bunch of us, and I guess the cops figured they had us in a pocket and that's when we fooled them. Because those that come in after us, when we turned on them, out come the pipes, the sticks, the chains, and we started fighting back. The guys that was out on the street closed in on the cops that was in there. Now, no one planned that. We couldn't have executed it if we'd planned it, it was just a coincidence. We started in on them cops and before that thing was over, some 30 of them they went to the hospital right there.

Now, we had a lot of people hurt, a couple of guys I heard had broken arms. That could be. 30 cops went to the hospital and a lot of them was bruised that didn't report it. And we had a lot of people hurt. The strike headquarters was full of people getting patched up. Some guys went to their own doctors. Nobody wants to admit--nobody went to hospitals because when you go to the hospitals they want your name and your address and the next morning, rap, rap, rap and I've got a warrant for your arrest. And then you go to jail.

So we kind of regrouped and everybody was happy. But the significant thing is that nobody got arrested.

Well, that afternoon, everyone was jubilant. The strikers were all happy. You never saw such a cocky bunch of bastards as up around 1800-1900 that afternoon. Well, we had a meeting of the strike committee. And again, Mickey, Carl, and Bill Brown were talking. Mostly Carl and Mick. The reason I'm leaving ~~Farrow~~ DARRELL and Ray out, they were doing the dispatching. They were in the front end of the office where we done the dispatching, and they might have been in there but they weren't too hip on it, and ~~Farrow~~ DARRELL was a "greenhorn" too, like the rest of us. He didn't have the savvy that Carl and Ray had. And that was a big job dispatching. And they had help there

too, the two of them didn't begin to do that, Christ, they had a half dozen people answering phones and everything. So it was decided then that we'd get the best guys in the union, the guys that we could trust the most and we told them that tomorrow morning we'd got wind that they're grouping the strikers and they're assembling them and putting a call in for they're going to assemble 1500 special deputies and Sheriff Wahl put out a notice in the paper, and if you look at the headlines I think you'll see that. Now they had an assembly point, one of them was up on Harmon Place and another one was in the basement of the Church of the Redeemer, I think it is, the one that was picketed, do you remember when we picketed the church? He lent his basement, that son of a bitch.

Riehle Is that the (inaudible)?

Maloney No, that was Strutters. That wasn't Strutters? No? What was his name? I'll think of it in a minute. It's on the pictures. He lent his gymnasium to help assemble them guys and they had--they went to some factory that makes what they call turnings. Now, do you know what turnings are? An expression that's used in a woodshop where they have stuff that they put on a lathe and turn, they might be 4 inches of stock and they turn them down for them newels in the stairwells and all that stuff that they turn down on the lathe, and

they call that turning stock. And I guess they cut some quick handles on them and fixed it down so the guys could hold them, and they turned--they put these guys with clubs--now, we heard that they were doing that. Where we got the information, I don't know. So the union said that we are going to for the first time, we're going to give them guys their comeuppance. So a group of guys were assembled at 614, in the big auditorium and they were all loaded, and for the first time the union took the position that we're going to send guys out of this hall with some sort of a thing other than their bare hands. (MPLS CENTRAL LABOR UNION HQ)

Now there's no way that Gus Hall could have been in that group. Now, if he'd have been just a picket coming down there, if we would have seen people on the picket line with sticks, we'd have taken them away from them under normal conditions. We did not allow agent provocateurs, that was one of Carl's points, and Mickey and Ray. Don't allow anybody to provoke you. Don't allow anybody to be around that we can be charged with provoking an incident.

So the fact that Carl Ross figures now that Gus Hall would have been part of that crowd, it's a physical impossibility because the people that were in that crowd, and if you look at the pictures, they

were pretty near all of them had some kind of a weapon in their hand.

Riehle And they all came out of the 614

Maloney They all come out of 614. Now, it isn't likely--see, the police force was mustered that day, too, Dave. They had all the harness bulls they could get down there. But the harness bulls had a taste of Monday and they weren't coming back for seconds. And they felt that on Monday--now, I never saw this group, but they said that they had these special deputies in the market on Monday. You're a persistent little cuss, ain't you? And they had said that they had this group of special deputies in the market on Monday, and they never come to the assistance of the harness bulls.

Now, that's entirely possible, but I didn't see it. They could have been there, I'm not denying that they weren't there. There is quite a few statements to the effect that the police were getting even. I never saw the special deputies. I never saw them. The cops wouldn't interfere with them on Tuesday, they said if you've got other pictures, you'll see the cops up on the low line at Butler Brothers. They weren't around.

Now, I don't know how Hall could have got in with that group of union men that come out of 614. How would he have got into 614 in

the first place? It's impossible, Dave, impossible. And I submit that the picture looks to me like a mature man, not a lad of 20 or 22. My picture on that day looks a hell of a lot different than it would today. And a lot different even then. That guy to me looks like more of a mature man. And I'm sure who it is, and if it's the guy I think it is, he was a guy about 35 or 40 years old, 35 years old anyway. He was a big, husky, rawboned, square-jawed guy. Could have been a Dane, could have been a Swede or a Norwegian. But now, to carry on with his statement (ROSS' STATEMENT) that he makes that there were several murders, (C. ARTHUR LYMAN) Lyman was killed instantly. The other guy, Pete something, died shortly after. There were a lot of injuries. That's the only true statement. No ~~marshal~~ martial law was declared. ~~Marshal~~ Martial law was declared on July 26, after the shooting. Olson never proclaimed marshal law in the May strike. He had the troops assembled on 6th Street and 4th Avenue in the May strike, but never brought them out of the armory. He had a couple of battalions, I don't know how big it is, 1,200 men, whatever that is, that's what they say, that they were assembled down there in the armory. He never put them on the street.

So that's all haywire. And the records show that. There's some more of Carl Ross' shooting in the wind, making up stories.

Riehle I have a leaflet that the Communist party issued in Minneapolis in 19--August '34, where they attack the leadership of the union for not organizing mass picketing to challenge marshal law. Do you remember anything about that? What's your response to this criticism?

Maloney Yes, yes, yes. They put out leaflets. I can't remember the text of it, they had more than one leaflet. Bill ~~Dunwood~~ DUNNE had been brought into town and Bill Brown had made some speeches that we were selling out

Riehle Bill Dunn?

Maloney Bill Dunn, because we weren't demanding as a condition of settling the strike the impeachment of Olson. Well, impeaching Olson would have fit fine with me, but I didn't elect Olson, the people of Minnesota did, and that's the way he should have got unelected. It would have been fine if the driver's union had the power to throw the governor out, but that comes almost in a fascistic state for a handful of people to walk in and (inaudible) you're out. I don't believe in that. And I know that we were challenged--well, I don't know that we were challenged, but we were taunted and I don't know what we could have done during August to challenge the National Guard.

Riehle Nobody within the union ever raised this idea?

Maloney What?

Riehle Of organizing mass picketing to confront the National Guard during marshal law?

Maloney How could we organize mass picketing? If you had more than 3 people without a permit you could be apprehended. I think that was 3. Now, how could we--you see, the laws of reason don't--it's easy to say you didn't do something, you can't do it. How could we challenge mass picketing? Technically, Olson raided our headquarters because he said we didn't have a permit to hold that mass meeting. We proved we did.

Now we had to go to the provost marshal to get permits for anything. We had to go to the provost marshal to get a permit--we had a truck or two that we were using to go out and hustle potatoes and meats and breads and all that sort of stuff, and we had to get a military permit to run that. Otherwise the guards would have apprehended us. Now how could we organize a mass meeting? How would you get--where would you conceal 20,000 people at a given moment to march in on the parade grounds? How do you do that? What kind of an impractical thing is a thing like that to say you didn't challenge it. We were challenging the National Guard in

any way that we could. And almost identical to the day that they were putting out that leaflet, if you read the newspapers, you'll find that we upset, burned, overturned, or interfered with the movement of some 200 trucks in one day. The newspaper carries the story.

Riehle Now was that about a week before the strike was settled, or approximately that time?

Maloney It was shortly after Al Goldman proposed we call the strike off, we said bullshit, we're going to renew the strike. And we were doing the best we could. And I believe what really flabbergasted the employers is where are these people coming from? It was the unemployed.

Riehle Do you remember, were there functioning in unemployed organizations at that time in the city or were there

Maloney Wait, I don't hear too well.

Riehle Were there organizations like the Worker's Alliance or the Unemployed Leagues, were they bringing people to participate in an organized way?

Maloney Oh, yes, yes, yes.

Riehle Were most people kind of spontaneously

Maloney Well, there were a lot of people that came spontaneously. There were two or three reasons for that. There was two or three groups

of people--now, I explained to you earlier about the red raids, a lot of people had gone through them and remembered them. There were people in the crafts that remembered what had happened in their unions. Some didn't want to join the worker's alliance, they figured it was red; some didn't want to join others because there was people in there that had been caught up in the red raids. So there were two or three groups of people that had their independent groupings. I don't know all their names, but there were the Minneapolis Central Council of Unemployed Workers. There was a couple of more. There was the Worker's Alliance. There was three or four groups. Now, besides that, we had a soup kitchen and we fed everybody. People, a lot of them, had been unemployed for not months but years, a couple of years, there was nothing to do. What do you do? It's hot and you can go to the beach. Well, you go to the beach and you've got to pay a nickel and a dime to get a locker and you've got to do this and you've got to do that. And that's it. Well, you go to strike headquarters, everybody's there, activity of all kinds, we had some music, we had this going on, we had that going on, you got hungry and you could go and get a bowl of soup. You could get a sandwich and get a cup of coffee, and man's a social creature. And we attracted a lot of people. And it was a social

thing. In the summertime they had band concerts. Well, there was a reason for that, no hot nights, no air conditioning in the theaters, who's going to sit there and sweat for 2-3 hours, so they took it outside and there you had to fight the mosquitoes. But one of the things that brought people down there, I'm sure and then every night there was the addition of the ~~organizer~~ ORGANIZER (the union's strike paper), you could read what happened and a lot of times it was humorous. And everyone was interested. And here you were meeting and consulting with people who were your colleagues, they were your confederates. You were out of work, you had the same problems, your only activity had been for a long time was going to them--what the hell did they call them, the target parties where they rolled cigarettes and you used to have them target parties, you know.

Riehle Why did they call them target parties?

Maloney Well, target was the name of a tobacco, and they had a machine, a little machine, a roller, and the name of that machine was Target. And they called them Target parties, rolling cigarettes. I never smoked, so I never went to them. I mean for that purpose. But they'd all get together and somebody would get 2 or 3 quarts of home brew and some popcorn and they'd bullshit around and somebody'd have a radio, there was no TV. A lot of people didn't

own a radio and they could listen to Fibber McGee or Molly and roll cigarettes and there you are.

And now we had the strike all summer long for a month or six weeks, it was a sense of interest too. We had tremendous meetings. And it wasn't all brought about because people just wanted to come down and just trade-union, it was a curiosity and it was a lot of activity going on. You could meet and talk and there was all sorts of things. That's my way of looking at it. It wasn't strictly that everyone was a disciplined, hardcore member of the unemployed, member of a union, people were interested and curious, they wanted social companionship and they didn't have any money to get it anyplace else and they come down and met people of their own standing. At least that's the way I look at it. And that's what fooled the boss. Where them people coming from? Where are they getting them people? They thought they had them all back to work and there were more guys out on the picket line than there was yesterday. That's what fooled the bastards. That was a good job.

Riehle Do you think that the day in August when you went out and hit the trucks that that was the turning point in the strike?

Maloney Well, I think it had a hell of a lot to do with the morale of the men. But also to the employers.

Riehle In light of what Hy Berman says about Jesse Jones and all of that being the turning point

Maloney Well, if that was the turning point, why didn't the employer--to follow up on Hy Berman's statement, and he's out of joint on most--he's always off on a trick in my book anyway, but if they got this letter from Jesse Jones, why didn't they act on it? Why did they wait until after we started giving them what-for? If they were frightened of Jesse Jones on the first day of August, why did they wait until the 20th to exercise their scare? Each day after Jesse Jones made the edict, commonsense tells you well he didn't do nothing today, let's wait another day and pretty soon they tell him to go to hell. That's what commonsense tells you. That's what people do. The longer you get by with something the cockier you get.

Now if Jesse Jones would have told them on the first of August, "We're going to call your notes in on the 5th," there would have been a scramble on the 4th. He said, tongue in cheek, "We're going to call in the loans." Well, he made it public. What loans did he call in? I don't know of anybody that rang a bell. I think he made a public statement and called him up and said, "Disregard previous orders, telegram follows" or something like that. Hy Berman reads

in the whole damn thing, that he can't explain it with Father ~~Ross,~~ Haas * he's going to find some way to explain that the Farm Labor party had the key for it. That's my opinion of Hy Berman. He's so wrapped up in the Farm Labor party that he can't see the forest for the trees.

Riehle In your opinion what--or from what you know, what was-- specifically what was ~~Lloyd's Mackal~~ Lloyd MacAloon in's role?

Maloney ~~Mackalin~~ MacAloon? Pegleg?

Riehle personally, he worked directly for the Citizen's Alliance

Maloney What?

Riehle He worked for the Citizen's Alliance. Was he somebody who was more or less in a position of directing things on a day-to-day basis?

Maloney Who, Pegleg? Yes, he was the executive officer. Now, Pegleg had an office in that building I showed you up there on 1st Avenue. It was on 1st Avenue South--1st Avenue North on the odd side of the street in the middle of the block.

Riehle What was the name of that building, do you remember?

Maloney I can't remember the name of the building. It was a one-story building. It was on Hennepin Avenue--that building that abutted it was called the Lincoln Building. And there was what they called the annex.

* Federal mediator

Here's where the Citizen's Alliance office was at that time. They had only the one. That's where he operated from.

Riehle So all of these command posts were all within a few blocks of each other?

Maloney Well, that wasn't figured out on purpose.

Riehle No, but it worked out that way.

Maloney See, the reason that it was that way--I'll tell you why now, see, later on, later on, Dave, the Central Labor Union on 8th Street took over that building, 18 North 8th Street, they took over, that was a 1-storey building. Now, on Hennepin Avenue and 8th Street was a big building, 8- or 10-story building, it was a white building called the Lincoln Building. And behind the Lincoln Building on 8th Street was the building that was called an annex, I can't remember the name of it, and it was one story. And Pegleg, you know, had a bum leg. And the buildings would face 8th Street. Now, the back door there was an alleyway and he could drive his car right up to the door of his office. See, they also had another employment office over on 3rd Avenue, 600 or 700 block on 3rd Avenue South, but that was a smaller one. And I think what they concentrated over there was hotel and that kind of stuff.

Anyway, I'd sure like to find the thermostat, I'd turn the heat up.

Anyhow, when the Citizen's Alliance was formed, I'm not exactly sure when, but he ironed out somewhere along the line and he became its executive director. Now he had no business and he operated, supposedly, in a fair manner, everybody was treated alike, and he conducted

[end tape 1]